UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2528th MEETING: 3 APRIL 1984

NEW YORK

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NOTE

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2528th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 3 April 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Vladimir Alekseyevich KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2528)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2525th and 2527th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guyana, Honduras, Mexico and Syrian Arab Republic to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Kovačič (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Flores Bermúdez (Honduras), Mr. Marín Bosch (Mexico) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Democratic Yemen, El Salvador, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Seychelles and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Martínez (El Salvador), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Pakistan.

4. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Allow me to begin by extending to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. We are confident that your personal qualities and rich diplomatic experience and skills will be great assets in enabling the Council to deal effectively with the issues that may come before it during this month. I also wish to express our profound appreciation and admiration for the outstanding manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, guided the work of the Council.

5. Since this is the first time I am speaking in the Council following the untimely death of Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, I wish to express our profound anguish at his passing away and to convey to the delegation of Guinea our deep sympathies and heartfelt condolences. President Ahmed Sékou Touré was a pioneer in the struggle against colonialism, which surged through the continent of Africa following the Second World War. He was an indefatigable freedom-fighter, an outstanding statesman of Africa and an inspiring symbol of our time as a valiant leader dedicated to the cause of freedom, peace and progress. He was among the founding fathers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. As Chairman of the Islamic Peace Committee, he devoted himself unsparingly to bringing to an end the tragic Iran-Iraq

conflict. During his many memorable visits to our region in pursuit of his peace initiatives he visited Pakistan, where he endeared himself to our leaders and people, who will always cherish his memory as a true friend and share with their brothers in Guinea their deep sense of grief and sorrow.

6. The troubled region of Central America is once again the subject of the Security Council's consideration in response to the complaint brought to it by Nicaragua. When a similar complaint from Nicaragua was considered by the Council in March of last year we voiced our feelings of profound concern [*2423rd meeting*] at the distortion of the issues within the region under the impact of interference and involvement from outside. While remaining sensitive to the tense situation on Nicaragua's borders with Honduras at that time and to the risk of armed conflicts among the States of the region, we were fully conscious of the imperative need to prevent alien hands from manipulating the process of change in the region and to ensure that the peace initiative by the Contadora Group of countries was provided with unhindered opportunity to resolve the regional contradictions.

7. Recently the Central American region has been the scene of extraordinary diplomatic, political and military activity, and the situation there continues to be highly combustible. Nevertheless we remain convinced that the endeavours of the Contadora Group hold out the best hope of resolving the tragic conflict that afflicts the region. The Contadora decisions provide the most comprehensive and imaginative framework for an all-embracing solution of the entire range of complex issues in Central America. They include important agreements embodying political commitments designed to ensure peace in the region.

8. Military activities in the region have assumed grave proportions and could spark a wider conflagration with ramifications beyond the frontiers of Nicaragua and Honduras or those of the region. Nicaragua has expressed concern over military manoeuvres and exercises in the region, which it sees as a threat to its own security. It has complained against increased guerrilla and rebel activity on its territory, alleging that it is sustained from outside, and has reported the mining of its ports, which has caused damage to foreign shipping in its waters.

9. The mining of the Nicaraguan ports is a grave matter. It has already obstructed free navigation in Nicaraguan waters, and it amounts to a partial blockade of its ports. Pakistan unequivocally deplores this development, which is causing suffering to the Nicaraguan people, and upholds the fundamental right of every nation to develop its economy and socio-political system free from outside coercion.

10. As in the case of Nicaragua, every country in the region has the right to embark on development programmes of its own. At the same time these countries must learn to tolerate and respect socio-political differences in their neighbourhood and must learn to live in peace and harmony with one another. The political processes in Nicaragua and El Salvador, each in its own way, aim at strengthening the democratic institutions and sustain the validity of pluralistic systems for the region. The Contadora Group, as well as the communiqué adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on 15 March [*S/16422, annex*], have noted with interest the advances made with respect to elections in various countries of the region and have highlighted the importance of making use of democratic processes as a means of bringing about domestic reconciliation in the various countries and détente in the region.

11. Nicaragua has invoked its right under the Charter to bring its concerns to the Security Council, which has the clear responsibility of giving it full satisfaction in the overall regional context. Its decisions must help rather than hinder the momentum of the Contadora process. We clearly read this message in the important statement of the representative of Mexico, in the 2527th meeting, who has eloquently advocated that the countries of the region be left to themselves to find a regional solution of the complex Central American situation. Accordingly, as we engage in the process of formulating a Security Council response which satisfies the Nicaraguan concerns and at the same time does not prejudice the Contadora process, we look forward to the benefit of the views of the countries of the region, and especially of the members of the Group, whose co-operation is indispensable for peace in the region.

12. I wish to take this opportunity to declare our firm support for the Government and people of Nicaragua in their endeavours to overcome the serious problems with which they are beset at present. It is our hope that all the States of the Central American region will help the process of peace and coexistence, which would permit them to build their respective societies in accordance with their aspirations and free from intervention and interference from outside.

13. Mr. LUNA (Peru) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: First I should like to express to you, Sir, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the direction of our work for this month. I am sure that under your skilful and intelligent leadership the Security Council will achieve fruitful results this month. On behalf of Mr. Javier Arias Stella, I should like also to express thanks for the very kind and thoughtful words with which representatives have referred to his work as President of the Council last month.

14. The Security Council has been convened once again to consider both new and already expressed complaints by the Government of Nicaragua regarding acts violating its sovereignty and territorial integrity, which regrettably have resulted in the loss of life and damage and, owing to their nature, have seriously harmed the economic infrastructure of that fraternal Latin American nation.

15. The detailed presentation of the facts that the representative of Nicaragua has given us on two occasions [*2525th and 2527th meetings*] showed that the situation confronted by his country not only still exists but is worsening at an alarming rate. The mining of Nicaraguan ports that has taken place during the past few months has damaged ships and inflicted injuries on crews of various nationalities, thus causing concern and disrupting normal traffic off the Nicaraguan coast.

16. My delegation has listened with attention to the statements about the facts as they have occurred. There has been no denial of the allegations, and we may deduce that their veracity is not being debated. Consequently, the delegation of Peru wishes to make the following points.

17. First, we reject the intensification of hostile acts against Nicaragua and this new phase of operations against its port installations, the victim of which is always its own people.

18. Secondly, we are profoundly concerned at the serious accusations made in this debate regarding actions aimed at obstructing Nicaraguan shipping trade, which amounts to a *de facto* blockade and *de jure* violation of free international navigation.

19. Thirdly, we are convinced that the increase in the foreign military presence and the irrational arms race taking place in Central America will have the effect only of encouraging distrust and tension and give substance to the mutual charges by the nations of the isthmus being levelled at one another about destabilization, traffic in arms, terrorism of all kinds and support of insurgents, among other things.

20. Fourthly, we reaffirm our determined support for Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10. Both documents were adopted by consensus and accurately reflect the principles and commitments that the international community hopes will be honoured by the parties and factions involved in this regrettable crisis.

21. Fifthly, we believe there is an urgent need for us to express emphatically our support for the efforts of the Contadora Group, which is endeavouring to reach a negotiated comprehensive settlement that will provide the guidelines for a consolidation of peace in the area. If the Contadora Group is to reach tangible results, obviously there must first be an immediate cessation of all acts of hostility among and towards Central American countries—and that applies to conduct both within and outside the negotiations framework.

22. Sixthly, it is extremely important that we all renew our support for the vigorous appeal for the strictest respect for the principles and norms of international law enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments. With regard to the complaints presented by Nicaragua, which bear upon all the Central American republics, there must be strict observance of the principles of non-intervention in internal and external affairs of States, the right to self-determination, respect for international obligations, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, independence or territorial integrity of any State.

23. Furthermore, it is obvious that the deplorable violations of Nicaragua's security and stability are a crucial link in the broader political, economic and social problems confronting Central America. The peoples of that subregion are passing through a particularly critical period. They are making choices regarding the future of their nations and universal values, such as freedom, democracy, well-being and justice, are all at stake. The process requires not only the mature, devoted efforts of the protagonists but also the international community's responsible and careful understanding, especially by those who for reasons of geography or history are called to play more constructive roles.

24. In the special case of Central America, the Contadora Group is the legitimate depositary of the confidence and ideals for the peace of Latin America, of the non-aligned countries and of practically the entire international community. Unanimous support at all levels has been given to the efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. Within the inter-American system and in the United Nations, as we have said, documents have been adopted praising the efforts of those countries and exhorting them to persevere. However, as a number of representatives have wisely pointed out, realities in the area—characterized, *inter alia*, by the circumstances that have brought us together today and by a mistaken, dangerous and simplistic view of the Central American crisis—have obstructed the dialogue and negotiations that the Contadora Group has so conscientiously sought to achieve among the Governments directly concerned.

25. Hence Contadora still has a long row to hoe, and its peace efforts continue to require our firm and constant support. It is noteworthy that that group of countries is striving not only to bring about harmonious coexistence among the Central American nations, in keeping with the principles of international law and in a climate of security and stability, but also to help the parties establish a legal and institutional framework for economic and social co-operation which will allow the subregion to move again in the direction of integration and complementarity.

26. The Government of Peru hopes that this vision of a final, comprehensive, peaceful settlement that takes into account the legitimate interests of all Central American peoples—a settlement under the auspices of the Contadora Group within an exclusively regional context—will come true.

27. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Sir, you have assumed your high office in the beautiful month of April, which nor-

mally brings in a welcome thaw from the cold winter months. Today's sunshine is a practical manifestation of this climatic change. As I compliment you, therefore, I venture to hope that, despite the formidable obstacles that stand in the way, our debate on this item under your presidency will also herald an overdue thaw in the international climate. Your predecessor has already made a valuable contribution in this regard by the way in which, as befits his name, like a star in the firmament, he conducted the Council's work in the tempestuous month of March.

28. Almost everything that needs to be said on the item before us has already been very aptly expressed in the statements made before the Council, particularly at yesterday's and today's meetings when, after having heard the opening statements of the protagonists, we benefited from the important views and preoccupations of the countries in the region and of objective observers who are really trying to encourage the Contadora Group's peaceful approach.

29. My own delegation has already intervened twice in the Council on this subject; we find that the observations we made on those previous occasions remain valid today and we therefore see no point in repeating them. But there remains, in our opinion, one additional consideration which we wish to emphasize.

30. When speaking before this Council on 28 March [*2522nd meeting*], I stressed that "internationally recognized principles have specific content and lay down binding norms of inter-State behaviour". I added, "the carefully defined words of each relevant principle constitute accurate descriptions of actual international behaviour expected from and incumbent upon each one of us".

31. The two principles that mainly appear to be at the centre of our attention on this item are those which stipulate non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and refraining from the threat or use of force.

32. On 1 August 1975, in those distant days when the word détente—although perhaps at times abused—was still considered a decent word, worthy of being included in the political dictionary and in the discourse of international relations, the countries of Europe, together with Canada, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America signed the Helsinki Final Act. Among the decalogue of principles laboriously negotiated in a two-year marathon conference, the two principles I have already mentioned, which are mainly applicable to today's debate, were defined. The first—non-intervention in the internal affairs of States—was defined as follows:

> "The participating States will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State, regardless of their mutual relations.
>
> "They will accordingly refrain from any form of armed intervention or threat of such intervention against another participating State.
>
> "They will likewise in all circumstances refrain from any other act of military, or of political, economic or other coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by another participating State of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.
>
> "Accordingly, they will, *inter alia*, refrain from direct or indirect assistance to terrorist activities, or to subversive or other activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another participating State."

33. The second—refraining from the threat or use of force—was defined as follows:

> "The participating States will refrain in their mutual relations, as well as in their international relations in general, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and with the present Declaration. No consideration may be invoked to serve to warrant resort to the threat or use of force in contravention of this principle.
>
> "Accordingly, the participating States will refrain from any acts constituting a threat of force or direct or indirect use of force against another participating State. Likewise they will refrain from any manifestation of force for the purpose of inducing another participating State to renounce the full exercise of its sovereign rights. Likewise they will also refrain in their mutual relations from any act of reprisal by force.
>
> "No such threat or use of force will be employed as a means of settling disputes, or questions likely to give rise to disputes, between them."

34. Those principles were so important that they bore repetition. They were brief and to the point. They were so firmly founded in international law that the participating States, after having stressed the primary significance and equal and unreserved applicability of all the ten principles, felt the need to add that they declared "their intention to conduct their relations with all other States in the spirit of the principles contained in the present Declaration".

35. Because of their universality, these principles bind all Members of the United Nations. The responsibility accruing therefrom weighs even more heavily, perhaps, on those who have subscribed to the Helsinki Final Act, and especially the permanent members of the Security Council.

36. That of course was almost 10 years ago. Many unfortunate events have occurred since then which

have troubled the international scene. But the words of the principles remain valid as standards which strictly govern international behaviour. We therefore ask that all concerned live up to those standards, not by the lip-service they pay them, but in their actual behaviour. The standards remain valid in all circumstances, even if other countries may have transgressed them in other areas in the recent past, and even though policy choices may admirably be subject to free and open scrutiny in national debate.

37. Once again, even in the midst of the disheartening news brought to our attention of events which have culminated in serving to impede humanitarian assistance to Nicaragua, there have, nevertheless, remained some positive elements. The Contadora Group forthrightly pursues its task, setting down the balanced guidelines necessary for regional progress. Peaceful overtures continue to be made by Nicaragua, even in the face of the enormous difficulties placed in its way. And there has also been a belated recognition by the United States of the crisis in Central America, of compassion for its people and of hope for its future, in a bipartisan approach. As long as these elements aid in practical terms the objectives set by the Contadora Group they should be encouraged, to the same extent that military adventurism should be condemned.

38. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you and welcome you to this important post of President of the Security Council and express my conviction that your great diplomatic experience will help the Council in its work this month. I should also like to express appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, who so ably and tactfully discharged his functions as President of the Security Council in March. His diplomatic ability to a considerable and significant extent promoted the successful work of the Council.

39. The Soviet delegation responded with understanding to the urgent appeal from Nicaragua to the Security Council. Disturbing developments around that country justify its request and make it a correct one. Just a few months ago the Security Council was obliged to consider the question of aggressive actions against Nicaragua, and yet the danger threatening its people has not at all receded; on the contrary, that danger continues to grow.

40. In violation of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, a policy is being railroaded through, expanding militaristic preparations around Nicaragua. Areas in Central America adjacent to that country have been turned into a staging ground for armed operations, where many bases have been set up and where Somozist terrorists have established their camps. These groups are carrying out attacks, killing civilians and trying to destabilize the economic life of the country. In the very able statements in the Security Council by the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, a great deal of evidence was laid before us confirming these facts.

41. Everyone is fully aware of who is behind these terrorist activities and who is providing weapons, financing and guidance. Indeed, the leaders of the United States not only do not attempt to cover up their role in such gross violations of peace and international law, but in fact they boast about their role. There is no need to dispatch a commission of enquiry to establish the truth, for it is hard to think of any other instance in which any State has so openly acknowledged its participation in acts of aggression against another.

42. In the past few days there has been a particularly marked increase in Washington's military activities in the Central American region. On the pretext of regular training exercises Marine units have been concentrated along the borders of Nicaragua, a non-aligned State, and there has been an increase in air activity as well as a redeployment of Marines. Runways are hastily being constructed, as are ports and warehouse facilities for storing armaments.

43. On 1 April of this year manoeuvres unprecedented in Central America were begun. As stated by the Pentagon, these will include the examination of "all aspects of a scenario of contemporary warfare", including paratroop operations. Some particularly alarming aspects of such developments are to be found in United States press reports, according to which American troops will participate directly in these military operations.

44. And what is the reason for all these events around Nicaragua? The White House does not attempt to conceal the fact that the principal task is, as it has claimed in the past and continues to claim, to force the Nicaraguan people to turn away from their path of independent development and to restore in that country—and, indeed, throughout Central America—its own total control. In July of last year Washington quite openly stated that it did not believe in the possibility of a peaceful settlement in the region as long as the Sandinist leadership was in power there. Washington is quite simply demanding that a sovereign State alter its political and economic structure and change its foreign policy. It would not be incorrect to say that such an approach with regard to a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations is, in the final analysis, a threat to every developing, non-aligned country.

45. Here in this chamber the delegation of the United States enjoys moralizing about "violence", "murder and terrorism" and attempts to "obliterate the line between peace and war, between civilian and military, between politics and crime". The people of Latin America, however, know better than anyone else the true nature of the actions of those moralizers who, for their own hegemonistic ends, do not hesitate to resort to terrorism and to overt violence. I shall not dwell upon the past. Suffice it to recall the aggression committed against Grenada only six months ago.

46. It is hard not to recall here the heroic people of Cuba. For 25 years they have withstood attempts to stifle them by means of a blockage, of economic sabotage, of armed aggression and through plots to assassinate their leaders. We can be quite sure that the American adventure against Nicaragua will also, in the last analysis, end as pathetically as did that of the Bay of Pigs.

47. It is perfectly clear to any unprejudiced observer that as far as the imperialists are concerned freedom, human rights and democracy stop at the point where the peoples throw off the yoke of economic exploitation and enter upon the path towards independent development, rejecting the policies of diktat and hegemonistic control.

48. On 29 March this year the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Chernenko, stated the following:

> "The value of all this talk about United States willingness to take action to ease international tension, to act in a spirit of restraint and not to use or threaten the use of force can be quite clearly seen in the case of Nicaragua, against which American special forces and their henchmen have been waging an undeclared war. They are sowing violence everywhere, killing peaceful civilians. Do they really think in Washington that their policy of State terrorism and intervention in the affairs of sovereign States will be regarded by the peoples as promotion of peace? Such a belief would be a grave error indeed."

49. The Security Council has recently been witnessing a new manifestation of this policy of State terrorism. Actions are aimed against foreign merchant ships en route to Nicaragua or sailing along its coastline. Mines have been laid in the waters adjacent to that country and in its territorial waters and ports, and several foreign ships have already been damaged by them, including the Soviet tanker *Lugansk*.

50. The Government of the Soviet Union delivered a firm protest to the Government of the United States and warned that the United States would bear full responsibility for any consequences that might result from the continuation of such actions. In the note by the Soviet Government, delivered to the United States Chargé d'Affaires by a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, First Deputy President of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, on 21 March, stated, *inter alia*:

> "The nature and scope of such criminal operations leave no doubt that they are being carried out with the direct participation of departments and persons under the control of the United States Government, which is thereby guilty of violating one of the fundamental principles of international law, namely, the right to free navigation."

51. We should like to ask the United States delegation: does the present Administration realize that it is opening up a new and extremely dangerous chapter in the history of international terrorism, one with unforeseeable consequences for many countries of the world? Does it realize that it is playing with fire and that the mining of the ports of other countries in peacetime is not only a clear and flagrant violation of international law but also a serious step towards creating a situation of international anarchy, something against which the Secretary-General warned us in his 1982 annual report?[1] We would also point out the fact that the State indulging in this terrorism is one that is highly vocal in its support of free navigation. Moreover, the President of that State openly voiced the need "to avert conflicts which might threaten shipping lanes". It is not surprising that the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, speaking on television on 1 April, was unable to answer the question as to how mining the waters off the shores of Nicaragua was different from other acts of international terrorism.

52. In such a situation we can only express surprise that some sea Powers allies of the United States prefer to remain silent on this question in spite of the fact that this new stage in the development of international terrorism creates considerable dangers for them as well.

53. The Soviet delegation considers that the Security Council would be acting correctly and in fulfilment of its obligations by condemning the mining of the ports and territorial waters as an act of State terrorism.

54. The actions of the United States show that it is not interested in a political settlement in Central America and that it is deliberately pursuing a policy intended to widen the conflict. Those actions constitute a gross violation of the fundamental principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations.

55. For its part, the Soviet Union declares its support for the just cause of the people of Nicaragua, who are defending their freedom and the independence of their homeland.

56. The Soviet Union is in favour of a peaceful settlement of the alarming situation in Central America. The Soviet Union believes that the States of the Contadora Group should work actively—indeed, more actively—in that direction. It goes without saying that the trend of future developments in the region—and whether towards stabilization or, as is happening at present, towards a widening of the conflict—will depend largely on the Security Council, on its members, and on us, their representatives.

57. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: It gives me pleasure, Sir, to extend to you our heartfelt congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are certain that your rich diplomatic experience and the seriousmindedness with which you approach problems will

guarantee the smooth functioning of the Council. I should like also to reiterate our satisfaction with and admiration for the exemplary manner in which Mr. Javier Arias Stella discharged his responsibilities as President of the Council last month.

58. The nature of the crises besetting the peoples of Central America is but one more facet of human suffering in the third world, where people aspire to freedom, rights, their due share of prosperity and development and to the exercise of their political rights, free from foreign intervention and internal oppression.

59. As a country of the third world, Egypt is well aware of the problems of the third world, with its heavy legacy of economic and social underdevelopment and of the burdens and responsibilities imposed on legitimate Governments and leaders by the legitimate aspirations of their peoples. Therefore, and owing to its membership in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Egypt appreciates the nature of the problems besetting the Government and people of Nicaragua and the challenges faced by that country.

60. Having had the same historical experience, Egypt can say that Central American States facing similar challenges will not meet those challenges unless a regional climate is created throughout the area based on renunciation of the threat or use of force and on abandonment of confrontation and intervention in the internal affairs of States, as well as on application of the principles of good-neighbourliness and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States of the area and for the right of their peoples freely to choose their own political and economic systems.

61. Egypt joins other delegations in expressing grave concern about the recent escalation and spread of violence and counter-violence in Central America. Besides its tragic and destructive effects on individuals and whole peoples in the region, it increasingly threatens peace and security on a wider scale.

62. We have therefore followed with great attention and concern the news of damage to a number of ships caused by the mining of Nicaraguan ports, which can only impede access to those ports, bring about new tragedies, and deprive the people of Nicaragua of the foreign assistance it deserves.

63. Along with the efforts and well-known positions of the non-aligned countries, which are based on unchanging principles, and with United Nations resolutions—including Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and the General Assembly's consensus resolution 38/10—a pioneering constructive undertaking has been begun by the States of the Contadora Group. We endorse that undertaking, which deserves our encouragement. We should urge the Group to follow the long constructive road ahead of it. Already, important landmarks have been erected on that road: the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America [*S/15877, annex*], of 17 July 1983 and the Document of Objectives contained in the annex to document S/16041. These are sincere, creative initiatives springing from within the region. My delegation considers that we are all duty-bound to lend our positive support to the endeavours of the Contadora Group and to give the Group every opportunity to continue its work and fulfil its mission.

64. Egypt believes in and calls for the right of peoples to choose their economic and political systems without foreign intervention, and we believe in the inviolability of borders between States. We call for renunciation of the use of violence and threats and for efforts to be made to establish a dialogue in order to provide all peoples and legitimate Governments of Central America with the atmosphere that will enable them to face their basic problems: the problems of development, of overcoming the legacy of colonialism and exploitation, and of achieving the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the people of that region.

65. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

66. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has already had occasion to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to extend its gratitude to the representative of Peru for his conduct of the Council's business last month.

67. The Security Council is meeting once again today to discuss another chapter in the provocations and acts of intervention and aggression undertaken by the American Administration against peoples that refuse to submit to its hegemonic colonialist designs.

68. The Council recently began discussion of the acts of aggression undertaken by the United States against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the flagrant intervention in our affairs, and that consideration resumed yesterday [*2526th meeting*]. I wish to affirm that those acts are a manifestation of the premeditated and ever-aggressive United States policy towards Libya. That policy, which persists to this very day, dates back to the emergence of our revolution in 1969, a year which marked a new phase in the history of the Libyan people, one in which that small people has been able, thanks to its struggle and its faith, to effect the removal of American bases of aggression, to put an end to oil monopolies in the area, to adopt the slogan of economic liberation and nationalize its oil industry, to support the forces of liberation in southern Africa and the struggle of the people of Palestine and pursue a non-aligned policy against colonialism, racism and zionism.

69. Ever since that day, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has been the victim of repeated provocations, threats

and acts of direct and indirect aggression by the American Administration. These acts of terrorism have assumed several forms, as reflected in economic pressures, the deployment of air and naval forces off the Libyan coast, the dispatch of AWACS aircraft to neighbouring States to undertake spying missions against Libya, and the conduct of military manoeuvres near its borders. From time to time the American Administration, in co-ordination with its puppets in the area, has fabricated certain incidents to expand its acts of aggression and provocation against free, independent peoples.

70. Those acts of aggression have not been confined to military provocations but have included biased media campaigns deliberately fuelled by the American Administration with misinformation designed to distort the honourable and principled positions of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on the issue of freedom in the world.

71. As we have already declared in this Council, the Jamahiriya will be neither the first nor the last victim in the series of American acts of aggression. This view has been supported by the majority of speakers on the subject, and today's meeting affirms the validity of that warning. The Council is meeting again to discuss the escalation of provocations and acts of aggression unleashed against another non-aligned State—Nicaragua. In its turn, that country will not be the last victim of such acts; indeed, other States will fall victim to American aggression.

72. The current American Administration has done everything to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Central America and destabilize the region in order to overthrow so-called unfriendly régimes, including the progressive régime in Nicaragua.

73. The new phase of aggression against Nicaragua, aggression which has continued uninterrupted since the emergence of the revolutionary progressive régime, is no mere coincidence but has been planned by the United States Administration on all levels. In order to implement its schemes, that Administration has mobilized lackey Governments of the region and has been financing and organizing campaigns of terror against the people of Nicaragua and supporting all military operations waged against that people. To implement these schemes it has used certain States as bridgeheads and has supported armed elements of the remnants of the Somozist Guard stationed on Nicaragua's borders. Tremendous financial resources have been earmarked for plans to organize opposition inside and outside Nicaragua and to dispatch spy planes for the purpose of relaying information to anti-revolution forces. The violation of that country's territorial waters, including the mining of its ports, has resulted in many incidents. One was the explosion on 20 March 1983, which damaged a Soviet vessel bringing oil to Nicaragua; another was the sinking of the *Pescasa* when it hit a mine upon docking; yet another was the damage caused to the ship *Inderchaser*, flying a Liberian flag, as it was leaving the port of Corinto on 28 March.

74. The responsibility for the human and material losses resulting from those and previous incidents—which are nothing less than acts of terrorism directed against the security of international navigation—must be borne by the United States Administration, which, through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), planned and executed these incidents.

75. The aggression being committed against Nicaragua today falls in the context of a vicious imperialist policy of hegemony pursued by the American Administration with a view to extending and consolidating its influence over various parts of the world on the pretext of protecting its strategic and economic interests. This is demonstrated in the aggressive policy that Administration is pursuing, its military buildup and the establishment of the rapid deployment force, its provocations against those States, that do not follow its lead, its opposition to national liberation movements, its creation of hotbeds of tension, its sowing of the seeds of discord and dissension and its conduct of provocative military manoeuvres.

76. Our Arab region has been the victim of a Zionist-American conspiracy against it and of the limitless support provided to zionism by the American Administration to pursue aggression and expansion. This conspiracy has culminated in Israel's invasion of Lebanon and in the continued acts of aggression against the fraternal Syrian people. The aid given to the aggressive South African régime is another case in point.

77. The threat or use of force in international relations undermines the confidence of the international community in the principle of collective security. The United States Administration has trampled international instruments and conventions underfoot. It has dome so, not to defend the rights of peoples struggling for freedom, but to suppress freedom and kill people in Namibia, Palestine, Lebanon, Grenada, Nicaragua and in many other parts of the world.

78. Nicaragua today is a victim of terrorist acts of aggression committed by the United States. We must stand by Nicaragua and support it, because our support for that country signifies that we stand on the side of right and justice. The position of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in this regard is in keeping with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the efforts of the Contadora Group—all of which call for respect for the territorial integrity of Nicaragua and for seeking solutions to the problems of Central America by peaceful means, such as dialogue and co-operation among the States of the region free from foreign intervention.

79. Finally, we reaffirm the solidarity of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people in defending its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

80. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

81. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for allowing me to take part in the present debate.

82. Once again the Security Council is meeting to hear a complaint by the Government of Nicaragua. This is exactly the sixth time the Sandinist revolution has had to resort to the Council, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security. Obviously, it does not come here just to engage in rhetoric, or to tax the patience of the members, or to stand in the way of its neighbours' defending themselves from some imagined threat—as some would mischievously have us believe. It comes here because the danger of aggression—or, to be more accurate, the relentless upsurge in aggressive actions on the part of the Government of the United States of America against that Central American country over the past two years—makes it abundantly clear that the United States has neither relinquished its interventionist policies nor given up its illusory aim of overthrowing Nicaragua's Governing Junta of National Reconstruction.

83. As if butter would not melt in her mouth, the representative of the United States laments that Nicaragua should once again have complained about the daily abominations being perpetrated against its sons, ports, factories, ships and villages from the occupied territory of Honduras and, although against the will of its Government, from Costa Rica by mercenaries armed, trained and directed by the CIA, the Pentagon and the United States Government. She pathetically alleges that Nicaragua has presented itself as "the peaceable, innocent victim of an aggression that is orchestrated by ... the United States" [*see 2525th meeting, para. 73*]. We are almost moved to tears by this slander. Imagine: such evil words being used against the blameless benefactors of mankind!

84. How, indeed, could the mere fact of a request for $21 million from the American Congress to finance the operations of the ex-Somozist Guards possibly be construed as "orchestrated aggression" against Nicaragua? Who could allege that the $60 million allocated over the past two years, according to the American press, to the financing of the covert operations against Nicaragua are anything but a legitimate reduction in the funds devoted to social welfare or in the personal financial operations of the high-level collaborators of President Reagan which are reported from time to time in the press?

85. Could the fact that the actions against Nicaragua are clear violations of the Charter of the United Nations and international law be reason enough to spoil the breakfast of the person in charge?

86. How, when nothing less than the sacrosanct vital interests of the United States are at stake, could we expect the leader of the United States to fail to mount his favourite battle horse, joke about his age, castigate communism—which is responsible for all the Earth's evils—and extol both the democratic exterminators of the Salvadorian people and the charming, mild-mannered military men in Honduras, who will obligingly simulate coups and substitute one puppet for another when needed?

87. I am sure the members of the Council appreciate the grave danger hovering over this poor, defenceless and peace-loving giant to the north. The threat of the fighting cock bedecked with corn tortillas, the awesome rumbling of volanoes, the uncontainable attack of the rhythmic May pole all foretell the collapse of the dominoes; the bankruptcy of the American way and the end of Billy the Kid, Madison Avenue and the legend of the Alamo.

88. Surely it is not asking too much for Congress to allocate $21 million for 1984 to mine a few more Nicaraguan ports or have another go at Corinto and El Bluff; to destroy new oil tanks, settlements and schools; to kill a few more children, like Etelvina Cárdenas, or innocent fishermen in the Atlantic or Pacific; or to damage ships flying Japanese, Panamanian, Liberian or Soviet flags.

89. Who cares, after all, about freedom of navigation when you come right down to it? Who gives a hoot about free navigation or uninterrupted development of international trade? What do these things matter in the face of the terrible, awesome dangers detected by the Kissinger Commission, Ambassador Stone, the head of the CIA and even Dick Tracy?

90. Surely no one will believe that the warmongering clamour, the sending of fleets to the Gulf, the beginning of the Ocean Venture 84 manoeuvres and the declarations of the Southern Command in the so-called Panama Canal Zone in the face of the hypothetical "closing" of the Strait of Hormuz, the navigation channels of the Caribbean or the Panama Canal, so justified and in keeping with the principles of law, could possibly be compared to the unjustified and baseless protest over the mining of Nicaraguan ports, no matter how friendly may be the companies of Panama, Liberia and Japan, whose ships were damaged and whose nationals were wounded in the explosions. They do not care about the Soviet ship because it belongs to the "evil empire" and, as they say, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had the gall to supply weapons to the Nicaraguan people so that it might repel aggression.

91. On 25 February two Nicaraguan fishing boats sank after hitting mines in the neighbourhood of Bluefields. *The New York Times* correspondent Stephen Kinzec quoted officials of the Sandinist Government in his dispatch that day, saying that "the most recent attacks showed an unprecedented level of co-ordina-

tion and training which could only have been supplied by the CIA".

92. We know, of course, that the fact that Mr. William J. Casey, Director of that beneficent branch of the American Government, confidentially told the Armed Services and Intelligence Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate that the CIA would continue to support the rebels, also known as the Contras, and that for that purpose it would need between $20 million and $50 million this year and another $50 million next year does not at all mean that the United States Government wants to cause any harm to the independent and sovereign Government of a Member State of the United Nations, Nicaragua.

93. Nothing could be further from its pristine objectives. As the representative of the United States said only a few days ago, the fact is that Washington really loves the Miskito Indians and has asked the Contras —those putative sons of Somoza, who did so much for the Nicaraguan aborigines—to destroy the schools, hospitals, bridges and highways built by the Sandinists because it wants to make them literate, educate them, vaccinate them against disease, give them decent housing and facilitate their communication with the other citizens. But that would go against the national philosophy of the great Yankee democracy, which was not only based on the hunting down, extermination and plundering of the Sioux, Pueblos, Comanches, Dakotas and other original inhabitants of that part of the continent, but which also is happy and secure only when, like the blacks in the South African bantustans, the Indians are crammed into "reservations" or into prisons, where, together with the blacks and hispanics, they swell the ranks of the majority element of the regular residents. This is not because of discrimination, which does not exist in this great empire, but because freedom, under which all are equal before the law, persists in playing tricks on them, and, just as the citizens belonging to these "minorities" have more than their proportional share of unemployment, they also have more than their share of "crime" and poverty.

94. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* article says that the counter-revolutionaries

> "operate with a fund of $24 million approved by Congress last year. It is expected that funds will run out in June, and this time the Congress has prohibited the CIA from using its contingency fund, as it has done before, to finance the rebels. This is part of the compromise between the Congress and the Administration to make possible the continuation of the covert operation even after the House of Representatives twice voted in 1983 to end it."

95. The purpose of the so-called covert operation —although the press writes about it every day, only the United States representative seems to believe that it is still secret—is not to overthrow the Government of National Reconstruction but, in the words of the *Inquirer*, "to force it, through pressure, to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the United States". In other words, it is a question only of forcing, through military, economic, political and diplomatic coercion, this stubborn group of revolutionaries, who insist on being independent, to return to the fold of its trained chorus. This, the Americans would say, is in perfect harmony with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and does not deserve the Council's attention.

96. Neither should we be concerned about the occupation and use of the territory of Honduras for "covert operations" by the Contras or to send CIA operatives to engage in sabotage or to mine Nicaragua's ports. The Granadero I manoeuvres, despite the replacement of General Alvarez by another "friend of the United States", are being held without problems. According to *The Christian Science Monitor*, six landing strips have been built—"five more than approved by Congress". "The Seabees can do"—they certainly can—in Trujillo, in the north, or in the south, 20 miles from Nicaraguan territory.

97. The CIA's military turistic plans are going ahead. According to Martin Francis in *Honduras Update*, Vol. 2, No. 6, of March this year:

> "In order to enlarge the landing strip for the Big Pine II exercises, the Seabees razed the houses and cornfields of the population without compensating them for their losses ... Others, in Trujillo, complain that prostitution has become a serious problem since Big Pine II began and that the local economy has been seriously damaged."

98. The occupation of Honduras by Yankee forces, recently reinforced by the sending of large naval units and contingents of the 82nd Airborne Division—which invaded Grenada a few months ago—the mining of ports, the violations of Nicaraguan air space and the incursions by Piraña speedboats into Nicaragua's territorial waters are not, as might be thought, the prelude to intervention in that country or in neighbouring El Salvador. On the contrary, these are measures to intimidate the Sandinist Government and to protect the "Made in USA" Salvadoran democratic process with death squads and electoral chaos.

99. Therefore, we should not pay much attention to the message of Honduran delegates of the Word of God to Pope John Paul II, adopted at their national congress on 15 November last year, saying:

> "Wherever we look there are warplanes, strange vehicles described as tanks (but which we have never seen), foreign soldiers and Honduran soldiers who are our sons and brothers, sons of peasants, just like all of us. They want to teach us to hate our brothers, who, they say, are Communists, in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and even in Honduras."

The letter continues:

> "In our fields we have seen only humble, poor people, living in poverty without land to work, without housing, without medical centres, without drinking water, without highways and without light. Many of our children die because of lack of proper food or medicine. And the Word of God obliges us to love, to serve and to build a better world."

The letter concludes:

> "Many of our companions who praise the Word of God and some of the clergy who live with us, sharing our poverty and our hopes, have been arrested and even been killed because they taught us to put the Gospel into practice and to live in our communities in accordance with the teachings of Puebla"—a reference to the Episcopal Conference held in Puebla, Mexico, in 1979—"and of our Honduran bishops".

100. This, I say in passing, is the situation in a "representative democracy", one of those which Washington extols and favours. We are not so sure that those who follow the Word of God will not be described tomorrow by the United States delegation as crypto-Communists or be condemned to perish in one of Mr. Casey's covert, but no longer secret, operations. After all, did not the pathological d'Aubuisson assassinate the Archbishop of San Salvador to safeguard the military, pro-Yankee "democracy", over which he now aspires to preside with the blessing of his friends in the North?

101. The ways of "representative democracy" are mysterious, but simple. Obvious examples are the common fates of the constitutional Governments of Jacobo Arbenz, in Guatemala; Juan Bosch, in the Dominican Republic; and Salvador Allende, in Chile. If the constitutional president undertakes truly sweeping economic and social reforms or changes, Mr. Casey's troopers will seek a willing brass hat and, in the name of "representative democracy", overthrow that president without great ado. If, on the other hand, a tyrannical, oppressive oligarchy is threatened by a people's movement, Mr. Casey, or whoever happens to be on duty, will fasten on a so-called reformist president —even if he is called "Napoleon"—who may ask as soon as possible for a large amount of military aid, advisers by the dozens and—why not?—if necessary for intervention by the Marines from the good old days of gunboat diplomacy and the "big-stick" policy. They are the same Marines, or Marines similar to, those who carried out the Grenada operation and who today parade through the streets of Tegucigalpa in shirts bearing crossed-sword emblems—no doubt from their pirate origins.

102. In conclusion, we are witnessing a demonstration of overt "double-talk", "double-think" and "double-act", and indeed duplicity by the United States Administration, because while, as in the biblical passage, the truth is being shouted from the roof-tops and in the squares when Mr. Casey, Mr. Weinberger, Mr. Iklé and other government officials insist on the need to finance the counter-revolutionary Somozist activities and in general are taking measures in violation of international law—which suggest preparation for a Yankee intervention in El Salvador or in Nicaragua—President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz and the Permanent Representative at the United Nations proclaim, without blushing, that they advocate the peaceful, negotiated solution proposed by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, known as the "Contadora initiative".

103. We have read, with renewed interest, the declarations by the Presidents of Mexico and Colombia made during the former's visit to the great Andean country, repeating their unshakeable commitment to a negotiated settlement to resolve the Central American conflicts and calling for an end to the inflow of military forces to the area. This is the meaning of the statements made by President de la Madrid in Brazil and throughout his journey in our America.

104. It is not enough simply rhetorically to endorse Latin America's peace initiative. The Governments of the Contadora Group, inspired as they are by a deep desire to find a genuine solution of their own making for the problems of Central America, must take urgent steps to guarantee that all parties, especially the United States, give real support to their efforts.

105. Military and naval actions aimed at intimidating Nicaragua must cease. The mining of the ports, the violation of borders, the growing military tyranny in Honduras and the interventionist designs of imperialism and any act by any State, within or outside the region, which are contrary to the principles and agreements of the Contadora Group, must end.

106. In our opinion the Council must condemn the escalation of aggression against Nicaragua, must condemn the mining of its ports, which is a serious threat to international navigation and free trade, and the attempts of certain States, whose names don't need to be repeated, to bring about the failure of the Latin American peace initiative while they accuse others of doing the very things they are themselves doing.

107. We are confident that the members of this primary body of the United Nations will not be captivated by the siren songs of those who have gone to our lands to subject them and to plunder them—those who, as Herr Kissinger told Don Gabriel Valdés in a revealing statement that showed his great ignorance of history and his fascist, arrogant essence, believe that we belong to "a south that does not matter, from which nothing important will ever come". We trust the members will adopt a resolution worthy of the principles and objectives that the founders included in the Organization's Charter.

108. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

109. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) [*interpretation from French*]: First of all I should like to convey to you, Sir, the warmest congratulations of the Algerian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. You certainly bring to that position the well-known qualities of a man who understands dialogue and is an experienced diplomat. You have taken over from our friend Mr. Arias Stella of Peru, to whom I should like to express my great appreciation for his excellent guidance of the work of the Council at a time when it had a very heavy agenda.

110. This is the sixth time that Nicaragua has caused the Security Council to study the dangerous situation prevailing along the frontiers of that country, whose people will this year celebrate but the fifth anniversary of the Sandinist revolution.

111. The escalation in military action against the population, the territory and the economic centres of Nicaragua is assuming increasingly alarming proportions. In terms of the means used and the extent of the damage cause, these military actions, increasingly frequent and murderous, in fact have assumed the characteristics of a conventional war, albeit an undeclared one. At the international level they are accompanied by laborious efforts to oversimplify the dimensions of the situation to dull the vigilance of the international community and to ensure that Nicaragua's appeals go unheard, lost in the incredulity of some and the indifference of others. Even if there were still the slightest doubt as to the nature and the gravity of the situation imposed on Nicaragua when its representative in the Security Council reported a series of air attacks against its territory, recent news of the damage caused by mines in several Nicaraguan ports to merchant ships flying different flags and to their crews bears witness to the fact that the violence against Nicaragua is tangible and limitless.

112. This latest development, which is particularly significant in view of its objective and the particularly serious consequences for the national economy of the country and international shipping, is in itself sufficient reason for a strong position to be taken by the Security Council. History both ancient and contemporary tells us of many major conflicts that involved shipping. The definition of aggression that was adopted by consensus by the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, by its resolution 3314 (XXIX), specifically lists the blockade of a State's ports as one of the hostile actions that can be described as "aggression".

113. The spectacular support lent to subversion against this country and the infiltration by armed groups that do not balk at destroying what are basically economic targets and committing crimes against the civilian population prove, were proof necessary, that the target is nothing less than destabilization of the country and indeed of the entire region.

114. Faced with this situation, which carries the seeds of a very perilous development for Central America and for international peace and security, the Security Council would not be rising to the level of its responsibilities unless, on the basis of the established facts, it were to recommend appropriate remedies rather than encourage interminable exchanges of views on the relative virtues of the various economic and social systems.

115. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has constantly been at one with the people of Nicaragua as the threat to the country from outside has intensified. The various organs of the Non-Aligned Movement, including an extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau at Managua in January 1983, have constantly called for full respect for the cardinal principles of contemporary international law as regards that country—for example, national sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, non-interference and non-intervention. In the same way our Movement has constantly lent encouragement to the efforts of the Contadora Group to find the necessary peaceful settlement of the disputes between States of the Central American region, trusting, as we do, in the inherent ability of the peoples of the region together to build the harmonious future to which they aspire.

116. During an earlier debate of the Council on the situation in Central America the Algerian delegation had occasion to point out that, in response to the trust placed in it by Nicaragua, this body had a precious opportunity to implement the resources of diplomacy for preventive action. In its consideration of the situation in Central America the General Assembly, at its thirty-eighth session—at the 53rd meeting, over which I had the honour to preside—adopted resolution 38/10 by consensus, expressing its unwavering commitment in this regard.

117. In that resolution the General Assembly condemned:

> "The attacks launched from outside Nicaragua against that country's strategic installations, such as airports and seaports, energy storage facilities and other targets whose destruction seriously affects the country's economic life and endangers densely populated areas"

and urged:

> "the States of the region and other States to desist or to refrain from initiating military operations intended to exert political pressure, which aggravate the situation in the region and hamper the efforts to promote negotiations that the Contadora Group is undertaking with the agreement of the Governments of Central America".

118. It is important that the dynamics of a search for peace in justice and freedom should immediately replace this uncontrollable cycle of aggressive violence. In this connection, the direct and indirect protagonists in the regional conflict are duty bound to exercise restraint; and morally and politically, those in this body who have a special responsibility in safeguarding international peace and security are all the more duty bound to exercise such restraint.

119. The Security Council must be placed in a position where it can reverse the present course of events so that finally the peoples of Central America will be able to enjoy the fruits of peace and promote their own economic and social development.

120. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

121. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: We are pleased to see you, Sir, assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month, especially since you represent a friendly country known for its impartial and constant support for all peoples struggling for freedom and the preservation of their independence in the face of aggressive policies and conspiracies undertaken by the forces of imperialism in various parts of the world. We are confident that, with your wisdom and ability, the Council's work will be crowned with success.

122. I cannot fail to express our appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of Peru, for his wise conduct of the Council's work during his presidency of this body last month.

123. Only yesterday [*2526th meeting*] the Council was seized of the complaint by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of American provocations aimed at jeopardizing Libya's independence and sovereignty. The delegations which participated in that discussion were unanimous in their strong condemnation of American provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and affirmed their solidarity with that country in the face of the terrorist, aggressive policy pursued by American imperialism against the people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in the context of the continuous escalation of the Zionist imperialist conspiracy and aggression against our Arab peoples in an attempt to bolster the direct American military presence in the region and to extend American hegemony over it.

124. Today the Council is considering the complaint lodged by Nicaragua against American aggressive practices and policies aimed at undermining Nicaragua's independence and sovereignty and threatening its security and stability.

125. If there is one established fact to be concluded from these discussions and complaints lodged by two States whose peoples have opted for the path of independent socio-economic development it is that the United States Administration is the main source of tension, instability and the undermining of peace in the entire world. That Administration threatens the peace and stability of all peoples yearning for freedom and independence and of the emancipated States which are struggling to consolidate their independence. It commits aggression against sovereign, independent States and declares its hostility towards the aspiration of peoples to independent socio-economic development and political independence.

126. While the main principle of the Charter of the United Nations imposes the obligation not to threaten the sovereignty of other States, their political independence or territorial integrity and provides for the non-use of force, we find that the forces of imperialism, headed by American imperialism, violate this principle in their overall policies of aggression and flagrantly commit acts of invasion and aggression against independent States and struggling peoples. Those forces also seek to undermine world peace, create hotbeds of tension and jeopardize the international situation. As a result of this American policy of aggression, various parts of the world are still suffering from volatile situations.

127. Nicaragua, a peaceable country in Central America which is building its new society in difficult economic conditions, is being subjected to a variety of provocations, threats and military, economic and political pressures by the United States and its lackeys. These acts of provocation and aggression have culminated in the dispatch of American fleets to the Nicaraguan coast, the mining of its ports, the threat of force against the Sandinist revolution, acts of sabotage and military manoeuvres that threaten the security and stability of the Nicaraguan people.

128. The Council has witnessed broad condemnation by the international community of those aggressive operations, which not only contravene the Charter and the principles of international law and constitute a threat to international peace and security, but have resulted in the death of many innocent Nicaraguan citizens and inflicted much material loss on the vital economic infrastructures.

129. While reiterating its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua in the face of American military acts of aggression and provocation, Democratic Yemen calls upon the international community to stand by Nicaragua in confronting all American plots aimed at undermining its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and all intervention in its internal affairs. We also condemn any American attempt, directly or through its lackeys of the mercenary remnants of the Somoza régime, to commit aggression against Nicaragua.

130. The Council is called upon to affirm its support for the people and Government of Nicaragua and the

other peoples of Latin America which face threats of military buildup, economic blockade and intervention in their internal affairs by the American Administration, and to put an end to the United States' cynical disregard for the international community and deter its aggressive policy in the service of which it enlists its entire military, political and material potential.

131. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Seychelles. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

132. Ms. GONTHIER (Seychelles): Mr. President, first of all let me say how enormously gratified I am to see you so ably directing the work of the Security Council. I would also like to congratulate the representative of Peru for the diligent manner in which he served as President of the Council last month.

133. The Republic of Seychelles has a tradition of making short statements at the United Nations and keeping to the point. We intend to maintain that tradition.

134. Today I have come once again to denounce the aggressive policy of foreign forces towards Nicaragua characterized by all sorts of threats such as attempts to blockade Nicaragua's coastlines, thereby violating the most basic principles of international law.

135. The people of the Republic of Seychelles depend on the sea for their livelihood and for their survival. If it were not for civilized behaviour in international navigation, we would be strangled. Therefore the news of the mining of Nicaragua's harbours and coastlines, with loss of life and damage to several foreign ships, is of great concern to us. The level of sophisticated equipment and technology employed is alarming. Acts of this sort are disturbing because they always run the risk of retaliation and an ensuing snowball effect causing damage to other ships and aggravating already existing tensions. We would protest no matter what area was being mined, even if it were the Strait of Hormuz. The rule of law, the norms of international law and civilized behaviour must be respected and practised by all members of the international community.

136. Those who are patrolling the Indian Ocean today to guarantee free and safe passage when the peaceful situation there does not warrant protection should, out of a moral obligation, move their ships to Central America in order to implement the concept of the freedom of navigation that they so cherish—freedom of ships of all nations to use the various oceans in peace. The perpetrators of terrorism on the international high seas should be caught and punished.

137. The Republic of Seychelles will continue to support Nicaragua's right to independence, and we ask the Council not only to express its grave concern over the situation in Central America, but also to demand that those responsible for the violation of international law terminate their illegal activities immediately. The Council is charged with the primary responsibility for international peace and security. It should exercise that responsibility.

138. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of El Salvador. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

139. Mr. MARTÍNEZ (El Salvador) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Sir, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. I also express congratulations to Mr. Arias Stella for the very wise manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council in March.

140. My Government has always supported the right all countries have to live in peace and security, free from any foreign interference. Accordingly, our concern is directed towards ensuring unreserved respect for the self-determination of our neighbours and at the same time at defending our own right to self-determination in order to lay the bases of the peace and security we all yearn for.

141. Regrettably, the complex situation in Central America makes it difficult to attain this aspiration, which is the inalienable right of peoples. My country has experienced hard and tragic times in striving for this objective, and it has only been able to emerge victorious thanks to the determined and manifest democratic will of the majority of the Salvadorian people and to the assistance, understanding and solidarity offered by friendly countries. That is in contrast to the open foreign intervention, such as that practised by Nicaragua, in our internal affairs, embodied in propagandistic, military and logistic support for the armed groups that in my country are trying to overthrow through the force of arms a legitimately constituted Government based on the sovereign will of the people. Nicaragua, a country whose concern for its own security has given rise to the convening of this meeting of the Council, has repeatedly been denounced by my Government for adopting clearly interventionist attitudes with respect to our internal affairs, seeking to destabilize a Government that has been legitimately elected by the Salvadorian people.

142. We have heard the statement of the representative of Nicaragua where he called our electoral process a "false democratic facade" [*see 2525th meeting, para. 60*]. Such utterances and expressions, that have also come from the highest-ranking Sandinist leaders and have given rise to protests from us, contribute to increasing tension in the area.

143. Nicaragua's position of seeking a special political solution to our internal conflict, as well as constituting a further example of clear interference in our

internal affairs, disregards the people's wish democratically to elect their own leaders, as expressed in the elections on 28 March 1982 and again in a clear demonstration of community spirit in the elections of 25 March last. It also disregards the wish of the Salvadorian people to promote harmony and national understanding by inviting all social and political sectors to participate in the elections as a political formula for the attainment of a peaceful and eminently Salvadorian solution to our own conflict.

144. Therefore we reject the Nicaraguan claim that dialogue with those who have taken up arms on the formation of a government in El Salvador is the solution that would help get to the bottom of the crisis in the region. We believe, on the contrary, that to get to the source of the crisis in the region all foreign interference must cease and Nicaragua must adopt a respectful, conciliatory attitude and put an end to its support for the guerrilla groups.

145. As palpable proof of the validity of our arguments we should like to mention that only last month the Government of El Salvador sent various protest notes to Managua rejecting the disobliging statements made with regard to the elections in our country by the President of the Council of State and by the Minister of Defence. We made a formal protest with regard to the statements of support for the Salvadorian guerrilla activities made by Commander Henry Ruiz. The recent statement by the Nicaraguan Minister of Defence with regard to the laying of sound-activated mines in the region's ports, from Panama to Guatemala, by members of Central American movements has also been met with a protest from our Government, which has once again denounced the close linkage in co-ordination and logistics that exists between guerrilla groups and the Sandinist Government.

146. It is obvious that, in addition to contributing to deepening the climate of distrust in Central America, the political manoeuvres and statements of that Government are aimed at disguising the social deterioration and the serious economic situation that prevails inside Nicaragua, one that, as we all know, is the result of failure to abide by the political and democratic commitments made to the Organization of American States in 1979 and of the monopoly on political and military power held by the Sandinist leaders.

147. El Salvador has on a number of occasions adopted a cautious and watchful attitude with regard to the hostile conduct of the Sandinist Government towards the Salvadorian Government. Nevertheless, we should like to take this opportunity to inform the Sandinist Government that before it sets forth solutions to the internal conflicts in other countries it should try to find formulas that can enable it to solve its own social conflict.

148. The Government of El Salvador wishes to state that peace is an aspiration of society that is built up day by day and that there is a need for awareness and firm determination on the part of its leaders to achieve and preserve that peace. With this thought in mind we have agreed to the dialogue proposed by the countries of the Contadora Group, and we are working hard within the Technical Group to achieve agreement on the 21 points in the Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*], which include the objective to "promote national reconciliation efforts wherever deep divisions have taken place within society, with a view to fostering participation in democratic political processes in accordance with the law". The 21 points also envisage a broad range of measures to bring peace to the region, such as to "prevent the installation on their territory of foreign military bases or any other type of foreign interference" and to "establish internal control machinery to prevent the traffic in arms from the territory of any country in the region to the territory of another".

149. We regret Nicaragua's continuing efforts to disregard the Contadora forum by convening this world body, which has also lent its support to the regional efforts for peace, for all Nicaragua's fears and claims can be dealt with in discussions within the Contadora Group. We would urge Nicaragua to strengthen that regional body and to adopt a conciliatory attitude as a way towards resolving our problems.

150. El Salvador does not support the draft resolution that has been unofficially circulated and that has been put forward exclusively by Nicaragua.

151. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

152. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): Let me begin by offering you, Sir, the sincere felicitations of the Ethiopian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. While expressing to you my best wishes for a successful tenure, I should like to convey, through you, our equally sincere congratulations to the representative of Peru for the brilliant manner in which he steered the work of the Council last month.

153. Whenever military threats and acts of aggression against it from the all-too-familiar sources are escalated, Nicaragua invariably brings its case to the Security Council. This time too, the situation is no different. The recent mining of the sea ports of Nicaragua, which has so far caused loss of life and extensive material damage, constitutes both an escalation of the conflict and a virtual blockade of the country. With his customary eloquence and lucidity, and supported by ample evidence, the representative of Nicaragua has explained to the Council this serious development and the overall situation in Central America. He has indeed expounded a case based on justice and reason.

154. Unfortunately, however, the responses to that statement have not even attempted to address them-

selves to the charges, let alone disprove them. Instead, the responses have attempted to divert attention from the charges by focusing on issues that have little or no relevance to the substance of the debate and fall exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Nicaragua. Once again we have been told that the Government of Nicaragua has failed to fulfil its promise to hold free elections and "restore democracy". If such a promise was ever made it could only be made to the Nicaraguan people, and the legitimate right to demand the fulfilment of such a promise could only come from the Nicaraguan people. No other Government, however powerful, could possibly substitute for the people of Nicaragua in this regard or claim guardianship over their interests. What we saw last Friday in this Council was therefore nothing but a confrontation between reason and power.

155. Today Nicaragua is facing internally the destructive and murderous activities of the counter-revolutionary bandits organized, financed, trained and armed by the Government of the United States. Externally, in addition to many economic and financial pressures, it is also confronted with the ever-present threat of invasion by the armed forces of the United States and Honduras. The continuing so-called joint military manoeuvres by the United States and Honduras not only pose an increasing danger to the peace and stability of Nicaragua but, indeed, give military manoeuvres new dimensions and added objectives. Thus, in our times military manoeuvres can no longer be considered as mere exercises in military preparedness but have, regrettably, come to represent a sophisticated form of pressure and intimidation.

156. What is more regrettable, however, is the willing and active participation of the Government of Honduras in such lawlessness. Honduras today is one vast military base with a network of military camps, depots, airfields and numerous other installations, the political objectives of which are none other than the forcible overthrow of the legitimate Government of Nicaragua. That the Government of one developing country, whose people have such strong historic and cultural ties, face similar problems of under-development and share common aspirations with the people of Nicaragua, could collude with a super-Power against a small and weak neighbour is, I submit, a historic mistake. And, as such, the judgement of history is bound to weigh heavily upon those responsible.

157. To put things in their proper perspective we have to realize that Nicaragua is not the only target of imperialist military intervention; nor will it be the last so long as imperial ambitions for world domination persist and so long as the rule of law and the just causes of the peoples of the developing world continue to be subordinate to the perceived strategic objectives of the powerful. We in Ethiopia consider the threat facing Nicaragua as a threat to our own country and people. We sympathize and empathize with their concerns, for we also could face similar problems and could be menaced by the same powerful adversary. We therefore not only extend our solidarity to the people and Government of fraternal Nicaragua but also vehemently condemn all acts of subversion, aggression and intimidation against that country.

158. We would have liked the Security Council, in the discharge of its primary responsibility for international peace and security, to play a more active and positive role in regard to the many complaints brought to its attention by the Government of Nicaragua. While we acknowledge the positive influence the debates in the Council have had on public support for the Nicaraguan cause, there is no gainsaying the fact that the Council has yet to adopt a meaningful measure to dissuade those responsible from threatening and using force in Central America, particularly against Nicaragua. That, of course, is not without a cause: the very membership of the United States in this body, as it has done in numerous other instances, has paralysed the Council and prevented it from taking any action.

159. Furthermore, the United States, with its immense political, economic and military power and influence, has also partially succeeded in halting the Contadora process, its verbal support for the Contadora Group and the Contadora process notwithstanding. This is indeed very regrettable. The Governments of the Contadora Group need all the support they can get. We urge them not to despair; we encourage them instead to harness their collective will and weight and to advance the peace process they have so courageously launched. We also appeal to all the parties to the conflict in Central America, particularly the Government of the United States, to give the peace process their genuine support and collaboration.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

NOTE

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1* (A/37/1).